

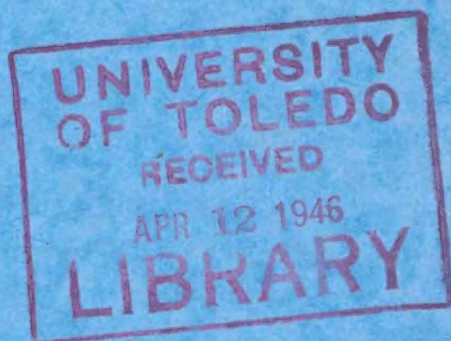
World War (1939-1945)

PAMPHLET OFFICE

VATICAN POLICY IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR

By

L. H. LEHMANN



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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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Vatican Policy in the Second World War

By L. H. LEHMANN



INTRODUCTION

THE EXTENT of the influence of the Roman Catholic Church on politics and war is not generally known to the American public. Americans have tried to look upon and treat the Roman Catholic Church in their traditionally tolerant attitude toward all religions, forgetful that its policies have always affected every phase of the life of the nations of the world, and unwilling to believe that a political Church would try to gain ascendancy over their government. This has been aided by the purposeful silence of the public press in America, which fearfully eschews all adverse comment on Catholic Church affairs.

Yet, even a cursory examination of the facts that are allowed to become known should convince anyone that the Roman Catholic Church is no friend of democracy; that, on the contrary, it has openly collaborated with and abetted Fascism in all its forms. Catholics from Europe are fully aware of this, and are not afraid to make it known. Catholic Count Kalerigi-Coudenove, for instance, in his recent work, *Crusade for Pan-Europe*, admits (p. 173) that: "*Catholicism is the Fascist form of Christianity. The Catholic hierarchy rests fully and securely on the leadership principle with an infallible Pope in supreme command for a life-time.*"

Americans have been deceived concerning the aims and activities of the Roman Catholic Church for three main reasons: 1) their indifference to Church-State relations as a factor in government; 2) their forgetfulness of the disastrous effects of Roman political ecclesiasticism in past centuries; 3) the purposeful confusion cre-

ated here in America by Roman Catholic propaganda concerning the real aims of Roman Catholic policy in democratic countries.

Superficially, the temporal policy of the Vatican may vary expediently with the turn of world events. Basically, however, it has always remained constant and inerrant. To the bishops of Austria welcoming the Anschluss with Hitler's Germany in 1938, Pope Pius XI sent special instructions reminding them of "the unchanging goal" of the Catholic Church. This same Pope once publicly declared that he would make a pact with the devil himself if it would serve the interests of the Church. Americans should not wonder, therefore, that the Vatican welcomed General Ken Harada as ambassador of Japan to the Holy See after Pearl Harbor and the sweeping conquests of Hirohito's forces in the Philippines and Dutch East Indies.

This unchanging goal of the Catholic Church is the restoration of its status as the only legally recognized Church in Christendom. To attain it, liberal democratic constitutions must be continuously opposed and a type of civil government eventually established in all countries that would extend protection only to the Roman Catholic Church. This protection was secured in Spain, for example, after Franco's Fascist rebellion had destroyed the Spanish Republic in 1938. Franco's Concordat with the Vatican, signed on June 6, 1941, reaffirmed the four articles of the Concordat of 1851, the first of which reads: "*The Roman Catholic religion, to the exclusion of any other, continues to be the sole religion of the Spanish nation.*" Even Msgr. John A. Ryan, most liberal of all Catholic churchmen in the United States, is forced to reiterate the fact that if the United States became predominantly Catholic, its Constitution could and would be changed to insure the "political proscription" of all non-Catholic sects.¹ The expedient nature of the Catholic Church's attitude toward its status in democratic America is authoritatively summed up in an official textbook of the Law Department of the Catholic University in Washington, D. C., as follows: "*The recognition of the Catholic Church's right to function through purely canonical moral persons, established and existing independently of the civil authority, is the ideal ar-*

¹ In his book, *The State and the Church*, p. 39, and repeated in the revised edition under the title, *Catholic Principles of Politics*, p. 320.

rangement and the plan to which Catholic theology can alone give unqualified assent." Until this claim can be put into effect, it goes on to say: "no better *substitute* can be presented than the policy which has been worked out by the American people."²

The prime effort of Vatican policy, therefore, must always be directed to warding off every trend toward assumption of power by the masses of the common people and resisting every trace of "Leftism" in economic and social matters. On September 6, 1936, a Pastoral Letter of Count Von Preysing, Bishop of Berlin, was read in all churches of his diocese in which it was stated that the Pope had issued an ultimatum "*that any and every connection or contact with Leftist currents is forbidden and must be most strenuously fought by the Church.*" For the attainment of the Catholic Church's "unchanging goal" can be reached only by the aid of authoritarian government, never by the consent of democratic regimes. Furthermore, the Papacy must make it its business to extend this policy to all countries of Christendom, to all parts of the Protestant British Empire, the United States and the Orthodox Slavic and Russian countries, as well as the so-called Catholic countries of the world, including South America. For it claims as its right exclusive jurisdiction over *all* Christians—Protestants and Orthodox Catholics as well as its own Roman Catholic members throughout the world. It can truthfully protest that its *primary* interest is not this or that particular form of government, economics or social order, since its primary object is the universal reestablishment of its spiritual dominion. In order to attain this, however, and in the process of attaining it, its *immediate* object is to see established political, economic and social regimes that, in the first place, will not destroy the freedom of the Catholic Church as at present established, and, in the second place, will aid eventually in the attainment of its real goal. With civil regimes not definitely socialistic or communistic, the Catholic Church can, for a time, manage to exist, for its ways are devious. Bishops in politics, as in chess, move obliquely.

² Cf. Brown, Brendan F., *The Canonical Juristic Personality, with Special Reference to its Status in the United States of America*, p. 196. Published by the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., 1927.

TRENDS PRIOR TO WORLD WAR I

THE PRESENT reactionary policy of the Vatican has its roots in its opposition to the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century — followed by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the French Revolution, the further revolutions of the 19th century which spread liberal ideas and increased the rule of the common people, and, most recently, the Russian Revolution of 1917. All these revolutions were definitely condemned by the encyclicals of the popes during the past 200 years. Lewis Mumford, in his *Faith for Living* (p. 162), one of the first Americans to discover the Catholic Church's betrayal of the Christian world by its tieup with Fascism, declares:

"The aims of Fascism are most deeply in conflict with those of a free republic like that of the United States. In this effort, the Catholic Church has been plainly no conservator of tradition; it has been an ally—a potent ally—of the forces of destruction."

Professor J.A. Borgese in *The Nation* expressed a like view: that all the great revolutions, from the French Revolution down to the Russian Revolution, were condemned by the Catholic Church.

For these revolutions destroyed the traditional basis necessary for universal Catholic Church control, namely the union of *Sacerdotium et Imperium*, "the Priesthood and the Empire." Outstanding condemnations of them are to be found: 1) In the Bull of Pope Innocent X against the Treaty of Westphalia—the first legal charter of religious tolerance agreed and sworn to by the heads of both Catholic and Protestant countries in 1648. The Pope declared:

"That all the articles and instruments of both these peace pacts, and everything therein contained, are, and forever will be, null, void, invalid, iniquitous, unjust, damnable, reprobate, inane, and altogether lacking in force; that no one is, or ever will be, obliged to observe them, even if bound thereto by oath; that no right or action, or color of a title, has thereby been acquired by anyone, or can ever be acquired by proscription after possession for any length of time, even for time out of memory . . . they must, there-

fore, be held forever as if they had never been issued, never existing, and as never made."³

2) In the many papal encyclicals against Freemasonry in the 18th and 19th centuries, summed up in the encyclical *Humanum Genus* of Pope Leo XIII in 1886, in which he condemned Freemasons because they favored the following views:

"They teach that all men have the same rights, and are perfectly equal in condition; that every man is naturally free; that no one has a right to command others; that it is tyranny to keep men subject to any other authority than that which emanates from themselves. Hence they hold that the people are sovereign, that those who rule have no authority but by the commission and concession of the people. Thus the origin of all rights and civil duties is in the people or in the State, which is ruled according to the new principles of liberty. They hold that the State must not be united to religion, that there is no reason why one religion ought to be preferred to another, and that all must be held in the same esteem."

This is a plain statement and condemnation of all democratic freedoms.

In his encyclical *Mirari Vos*, Pope Gregory XVI in 1846, after attempts at popular revolution in Italy, spared no words in his condemnation of all civil and religious liberty. Freedom of conscience he called "*deliramentum*" (insanity), freedom of thought "a pestilential error."

Pope Pius IX, in 1864, culminated the Papacy's desperate attempt to stem progress toward these democratic freedoms in his famous "Syllabus of Modern Errors," attached to and summarizing more detailed condemnation of them in its accompanying encyclical "*Quanta Cura*." The 80th and final proposition of this "Syllabus" of errors to be *condemned* reads:

³ Cf. *Bullarium Romanum*, Vol. XVII, Ch. XVI, p. 173. In this connection it is significant that Hitler and his National Socialist Party are on record as declaring that their real object was not the destruction of the Treaty of Versailles, but of the effects of the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648. Hitler actually declared that he would hold his victorious peace conference that would initiate his "new order" at Osnabrueck. The following was published in the Nazi *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* of May 15, 1940:

"It is not the revision of the Versailles Treaty which is the great thought written on the banner of the German troops, but the extinguishing of the last remnants of the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648."

"The Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself to, and agree with, progress, liberalism, and civilization as recently introduced."

There have been periods in the history of the Catholic Church when victory was won by the liberal elements in the Church. So strong were those elements in the 18th century that Pope Clement XIV in 1773 was persuaded to abolish the entire Jesuit Order *irrevocably* from the Church and the world. But the pro-Jesuit Pope Pius VII restored the Jesuits in 1821, and from that time on they gradually rebuilt their power over the entire Church. But till the rise of Fascism, the liberal groups within the Catholic Church which recognized and favored, to a certain extent, the victories won by the French Revolution, succeeded in being able to exist side by side with the Jesuit reactionaries—who have always regarded the liberties that flowed from the French Revolution as pernicious and diabolic. The progressive elements did all they could to bring the Catholic Church into line with liberal democratic doctrines, both in politics and theology, and thereby constantly incurred the enmity of the Jesuit faction. But the Jesuits were always able to win the popes over to their side, even those, such as Pope Pius IX and Pope Leo XIII, who at first were not inclined to side with them. The last stand of the liberal parties within the Catholic Church was made at the Vatican Council of 1870, in their attempt to prevent the imposition of the Jesuit-planned dogma of the personal infallibility of the Pope. A total of 170 bishops either left the Council before the final vote was cast, or remained and voted "*non placet*." Among them were many American bishops. At that time there was a total of 917 Roman Catholic dioceses (bishoprics) in the world. Yet only 433 *persons* finally voted in favor of papal infallibility at the Vatican Council, and many of these were not bishops, but merely apostolic vicars and lesser church officials. Four-fifths of the 433 who did so vote were Italians.

The history of Vatican policy entered a new phase with the decree of the personal infallibility of the pope. It placed the intransigent ultramontane Jesuit party in an impregnable position to bring their 400-year counter-Reformation to its hoped-for conclusion. The Jesuits, by making the Pope thenceforth the sole, supreme arbiter in the Church, were able to use him to break down

all resistance on the part of the liberal elements to align the Church's policy so that it might be more in keeping with democratic trends in the modern world.

The outstanding German-Catholic historian, Father Josef Schmidlin, professor at Tuebingen University, gives a clear picture of the fight between these two factions for the mastery of Vatican policy toward the end of the 19th century. In his *History of the Popes of Modern Times* (Vol. III, p. 1), he tells us:

"The history of the Popes during the 19th Century presents a succession of divergent systems following each other like a game of opposites and of warring forces striving for the mastery, with first one side winning and then another. On one side are the zealots striving in an intransigent and intolerant manner to preserve fixed traditions and orthodoxy, and who take a hostile attitude towards the progress of modern civilization and the liberal victories that followed on the great revolutions, *which are the unremitting enemies of the (Catholic) Church, the State and the principle of authority.* On the other side are the liberals who, actuated by a more equitable political sense, endeavor to break free from the traditional restraints bound up with the ideas of old, and who try to reconcile themselves with modern progress in order to live in peace with liberal states and governments, and to integrate the church, as a spiritual force, in contemporary civilization.

"From the beginning, this war-like game of opposites has been going on within the Roman Curia, and especially within the College of Cardinals. It is most evident in the papal conclaves which became the stage for this play of divergent tendencies, which are afterwards openly expressed in the attitudes of successive pontiffs. For the popes support one or the other of these tendencies and personify them by the conduct of their internal and foreign policies after mounting the papal throne."



TRENDS SINCE WORLD WAR I

THE NEED to bring the Vatican's real policy out into the open became evident to its leaders following the First World War. Liberalism had progressed so far in the early 'twenties that it began to affect the masses in the Catholic Church itself, even in Germany and other European countries. Friedrich Heiler, professor of history in the University of Marburg, has the following to say on this point:⁵

"These recent tendencies of Catholicism have spread to a great extent in Germany. German Catholicism is in fact a particular kind of Catholicism, due to the fact that it has been subject, continually if not visibly, to the influence of the reformed churches of Christendom, and has constantly absorbed certain features belonging to Evangelical Christianity."

Added to this there was the failure of the reactionary attempt in 1921 on the part of the victorious Allies to crush the infant Soviet Republic, which so frightened the Jesuit leaders of the Catholic Church that they determined to initiate counter-measures themselves, without delay. The liberal trend in Italy culminating in the election of a Freemason as the Mayor of Rome caused the Church great anxiety.

Pope Pius XI had reason, in a speech in February, 1929, to call Mussolini: "*a gift of Providence, a man free from the prejudices of the politicians of the liberal school.*" The conditions of the world at that time created in the minds of Vatican politicians visions of the danger of Europe being overrun by Communists. This threat also presented an opportunity, long looked forward to, when action could be openly taken completely to reverse the "disastrous" trend toward full establishment of the freedoms of the common people, so violently condemned by Popes Gregory XVI, Pius IX and Leo XIII. The historian Karl Boka, an ardent supporter of the Catholic restoration movement put it thus:

"At this decisive moment the Pope seized the reins and took into his hands the unified control of all fields of endeavor in which his predecessors had distinguished themselves. This was the beginning of Catholic Action of far-reaching importance, of the entrance of the Church into the battle for moral and religious renovation, and for the

⁵ *Im Ringen um die Kirche*, p. 174.

reform of social institutions. *And this intervention had for its end the destruction of the liberal spirit of the 19th century and the triumph of the Christian idea.*"⁶

Few American observers of the European scene were conscious of the fact that, side by side with the rise of Fascism in the political and social sphere, a like Fascist set-up arose within the Catholic Church. This latter set-up, the creation of the same Pope Pius XI, was called *Catholic Action*, which must not be confused with ordinary Catholic *activity*, but which was a specially created corporate entity integrating all Catholic activity in the hierarchy centered, in turn, in the Vatican. People in America did not see it in this light, because their vision was obscured by mere surface events, which were the necessary corollary of all Fascist action, both in politics and religion, namely, a brutal purge of anti-Fascist members within the Church itself. Americans focused their thought only on the *operational differences* between the two Fascisms in Church and State. They noted that the Pope and Mussolini exchanged heated words over the *methods* by which they had agreed to work together according to the terms of the Lateran Pact they had jointly signed in 1929. They noted that Hitler's regime in the beginning interned individual anti-Nazi Catholic priests in concentration camps; that the heads of some religious orders in Germany and Austria were brought to trial before the People's Court for smuggling money out of the country; that others were arrested and found guilty of crimes against morals; that some priests were jailed even for harboring "communists" in Germany; that Hitler seemed to turn against his best supporters among the Catholic hierarchy, notably Cardinal Innitzer and the Bishop of Salsburg, both of whom had signed the manifesto of the Catholic hierarchy welcoming Hitler into Austria at the time of the Anschluss; that public school education was taken out of the hands of the priests in Austria; that the Catholic Center Party had suffered and its leader, Dr. Klausener, was assassinated in Hitler's blood purge of June 30, 1934. These facts were erroneously confused in America with what was called "Hitler's fight against the Churches." The American public did not see that Hitler, in persecuting and eliminating the anti-Fascist elements of the Roman Catholic Church, was acting parallel with, and aiding

⁶ In his *Staat und Parteien*, p. 75.

and abetting the Jesuitical element within the Church that wished to bring about the same result.

Brutal cleansing of liberal and heretical members *within the Catholic Church itself* has always preceded every return to authoritarianism in Europe. The crusades of the Middle Ages began with persecution of the Jews and a purging of Catholic heretical members of the Church. The same happened at the beginning of the wars of religion instigated by the Jesuits in the 17th century. Nazi-Fascism's anti-Semitic ideology, its anti-Masonic and anti-democratic activities, its very propaganda methods were borrowed from the Jesuit Order. As in Inquisition times, the Catholic Church merely used the *Ovra* and the *Gestapo* of the Fascist and Nazi regimes as its 'secular arm' to rid Catholicism of its own recalcitrant elements which had become infected with liberal and Protestant ideas during the post-war years. On the other hand, Fascism and Nazism provided the Catholic Church with a new weapon to bring to a successful conclusion its 400-year war against Protestantism and the liberal institutions it had brought into being in the social order, and which had been allowed greater scope than ever to extend its "hated heresy" since the fall of the German monarchy in 1918.

The purge was carried out for both purposes according to the traditional methods of Jesuit strategy. That strategy is now known to us as fifth column penetration—the use of formalized democratic groups and institutions in order to overthrow democracy from within. Jesuit-trained Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's spokesman and chief propagandist, put it this way: "*It will always remain the best joke of the democratic system that it provided its deadly enemies with the means to destroy it.*" Just as Mussolini and Hitler used democratic parties and "elections" to have democracy commit suicide, so the Vatican used its Catholic *Popular Party* in Italy, led by the liberal priest Don Luigi Sturzo, and the Catholic *Center Party* in Germany, led by Msgr. Kass, to make its deal with the dictators. Then, by arbitrarily dissolving both parties, the Vatican removed the last obstacle in the way of both dictators to their rise to power. By the same stroke, the Vatican also broke up the last remaining centers of *lay Catholic political action within the Church itself*. From that time on, the Pope was absolute dictator of the

Church, in the political as well as the spiritual field. As stipulated by the set-up of *Catholic Action*, the Pope alone could now enter into direct political agreements with the dictators.

The popular confusion in America concerning the relations between the Catholic Church and Fascism has been due to ignorance of the inner workings of the Catholic Church, which has never been the rigidly uniform system that it is generally supposed to be. But it was to make it thus rigidly uniform, and to bring the Church into step with the "new order" of Nazi-Fascism, that Pope Pius XI established *Catholic Action*. To this end he dedicated his encyclical on Labor in 1931, entitled, *Quadragesimo Anno*, which has for its sub-title, "*On the Reconstruction of the Social Order*." For within the Catholic Church, there has always been a dominating reactionary element locked in mortal combat with opposing liberalizing groups.

These two factions came to grips within the Catholic Church at the same time that the conflict in the political and social order came to a head between the opposing ideologies of Fascism and Democracy after the First World War. Hopes had been high, within the Catholic Church as well as in the countries of Europe, that liberalism and democracy could be firmly entrenched in Europe, and that, in line with this, the liberal elements in the Catholic Church would force the Vatican to change its reactionary policy. But these liberal elements lost the battle and the intransigent Jesuit party proceeded to tie up the Vatican's policy to that of the dictators. It 'fascitized' the Catholic Church and made it both the example for, and the ready collaborator with, all would-be dictators in the economic and social order among the nations of Europe. How well the lesson was learned by Mussolini, Hitler, Franco and their lesser imitators in Europe is now clear to everyone. There is now no doubt that the idea of 'totalitarianizing' the entire body of a nation by the ruthless intolerance of *a controlling organism within the greater organization* was taken from the Jesuit set-up in the Catholic Church. Hitler specially lauds this intolerant Jesuit set-up in the Catholic Church in his *Mein Kampf*, and instructed his National-Socialist Party to make it their model.⁷

⁷ Cf. Hitler, Adolf, *Mein Kampf*, pp. 478, 485, 487, 882; also Lehmann, Leo H., *The Catholic Church in Hitler's Mein Kampf*, *ut supra*.

The dogma of papal infallibility in 1870 was the severest blow ever suffered by the liberal elements within the Catholic Church. The many bishops and others who had opposed it had no alternative but to submit to it later, and their forced and belated submission has well been called in Rome their "*sacrificio dell' intelletto*"—"intellectual sacrifice." Many bishops in different parts of the world took revenge by forbidding all Jesuit priests to work in their dioceses. But the Jesuits themselves saw to it that these bishops were supplanted by others who rescinded this prohibition. The bishops of Germany opposed the re-entry of the Jesuits into Germany as late as 1910. But since that time the Jesuits have become the directors of the *Collegio Germanico* in Rome, and thus can control the appointment of priests and bishops in Germany to suit their plans. The Jesuits also see to it that popes are elected from cardinals pledged to follow their policies, and who can be kept in line after their ascent by close collaboration with their Jesuit advisers. This Jesuit pressure during recent conclaves for the election of popes caused such bitter controversies that the late Pope Pius XI, himself a pro-Jesuit pope, imposed an oath of perpetual silence on all who in future are present at such conclaves.

All these developments paved the way for the Vatican's support of the coming Fascism. There was a delay of seven years before the Pope signed the Lateran Pact with Mussolini. The reasons for this delay were: 1) to make sure that Mussolini's Fascist regime would hold; 2) to allow time for secret negotiations with the new regime without shocking the rest of the Catholic world. But from the beginning Mussolini performed many favors for the Vatican. One of his first acts after coming to power in 1922 was to rescue the financial standing of the Vatican by saving from bankruptcy the *Banco di Roma* in which most of the Vatican's funds were invested. On signing the Lateran Pact, Mussolini paid the Pope 750,000,000 lire in cash and one billion lire in Fascist State bonds. This sealed the Vatican's tie-up with the Fascist State.

There was no delay, however, when it came to the Vatican's agreement with Hitler's Nazi regime. Hitler seized power in January 1933, and the Vatican was the first sovereign power to enter into formal negotiations with it. Six months later, on July 20, 1933, Cardinal Pacelli, later Pope Pius XII, then papal nuncio in Ger-

many, put his signature alongside that of Franz von Papen to the Vatican's Concordat with Hitler's Third Reich.

It is important to keep in mind that it was only after both major dictators had signed solemn agreements with the Vatican that, with the blessings of the Pope secure, they started their long line of aggressions, from Munich to their conquest of Europe. Without the Vatican's full-fledged support, Mussolini would never have dared to initiate his aggressions, first against helpless Ethiopia, and later, in conjunction with Hitler, against republican Spain. Both adventures were blessed by the Church and thus assured of success. *The Second World War had already begun.*

The likeness between the violent condemnations of democratic freedoms by recent popes, and that of Hitler in *Mein Kampf* should not be overlooked, since it appears to be more than merely coincidental.⁸

⁸ Cf. *The Catholic Church in Hitler's Mein Kampf*, by L. H. Lehmann, reprinted from *The Converted Catholic Magazine*.



THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND WORLD WAR II

THE ACTIVE COLLABORATION of the Vatican with the Axis powers in the Second World War can best be seen in each country taken over by them by political bluster or blitzkrieg. Proof of such collaboration is presented as follows in each country, in the order named:

ETHIOPIA

THAT THE Fascist conquest of Ethiopia was planned as much for the aggrandizement of the Catholic Church as for Italian colonial expansion is made clear by the following declaration of Cardinal Schuster, Archbishop of Milan, on October 25, 1935:

"The Italian flag is at this moment bringing in triumph the Cross of Christ to Ethiopia to free the road for the emancipation of the slaves, opening it at the same time to our missionary propaganda."

Two months earlier, on August 22, on the day that the League of Nations met to consider the Fascist attack on Ethiopia, the *Osservatore Romano*, official Vatican newspaper, reported that 57 bishops and 19 archbishops of Italy sent the following joint telegram to Mussolini:

"Catholic Italy thanked Jesus Christ for the renewed greatness of the country made stronger by Mussolini's policy."

Pope Pius XI let it be understood that Fascist Italy's war against Ethiopia could in no way be interpreted as a war of conquest. On the day the Fascist troops entered Addis Ababa, he hailed the successful end of the war as an accomplishment that "will initiate a true European and world-wide peace."⁹ He had the great bell of St. Peter's rung to celebrate the victory, and later congratulated the Queen of Italy as "Empress of Ethiopia," when sending her the famous Golden Rose. When His Holiness Mathias, head of the Coptic Church in Ethiopia was arrested, shipped to Italy and imprisoned in Venice, Pope Pius XI did not deign even to notice it.

SPAIN

THE VITAL PART played by the Catholic Church in Franco's successful war against the Spanish Republic can best be judged by the joint pronouncements of the Spanish hierarchy: 1) in con-

⁹ *New Times and Ethiopia News*, Oct. 31, 1936.

demnation of Spain's democratic constitution in the year 1931, shortly after that constitution was promulgated, signed by three cardinals and some sixty archbishops, bishops and other prelates; 2) after Franco's victory by a manifesto of the Spanish hierarchy, headed by Cardinal Goma, in praise of Franco's regime.

In the first pronouncement condemning the democratic government of Spain, published in Madrid on August 16, 1931, and quoted by the *New York Times* on August 17, were summarized all the violent condemnations of the popes of the 19th century against democratic freedoms: religious liberty, freedom of speech, press and assembly, separation of church and state. And since it was acknowledged at that time that the new Spanish constitution was patterned after that of the United States, the Spanish bishops made a point of quoting Pope Leo XIII's warning that it is erroneous to think that conditions in America can be approved by Catholics:

"To prove that it is not so," declared the Spanish bishops, "read what Leo XIII said to the archbishops and bishops of North America:

"It is necessary to destroy the error of those who might believe, perhaps, that the situation of the Church in America is a desirable one, and also the error of those who might believe that in imitation of that sort of thing the separation of church and State is legal and even convenient.' "

In this total condemnation of the Spanish Republican regime, the hierarchy went out of its way to remind the whole world that Pope Gregory XVI called these democratic liberties of speech, press and religion, "madness"; that Pope Pius IX called them "liberties of damnation"; and that "Leo XIII said 'that more than liberties, they are libertinism.' "

Even more conclusive proof of the identity of Catholic and Fascist interests in Spain was the second manifesto of the Spanish hierarchy lauding Franco's destruction of the Spanish Republic. In the *New York Times* of August 7, 1938, John V. Hinkel reported the publication at Burgos of a 50,000-word book addressed to Cardinal Goma, Primate of Spain, "from nearly 900 cardinals, archbishops and bishops" throughout the world, in support of the Spanish hierarchy's manifesto in favor of Franco. This concerted effort of the Catholic hierarchy throughout the world had the special approval of the Pope. Hinkel reported:

"That the undertaking has the full approval of Pope Pius XI is indicated in a foreword written in the form of a letter to Cardinal Goma by Cardinal Pacelli, the Papal Secretary of State [later Pope Pius XII]. In his letter Cardinal Pacelli congratulates the Spanish Primate on behalf of the Pope for this 'new and most tangible proof of indefatigable zeal as well as of filial devotion to the Father of Christendom.'"

Cardinal Goma, this book declared, assured Franco of the complete support of the Catholic Church in his fight against the Loyalists. "*We are in complete agreement with the Nationalist Government,*" he declares, "*which, on the other hand, never takes a step without consulting me and obeying me.*" "It was a duty," the book declares, "to proclaim to those in foreign lands with doubts and misgivings *the profoundly Catholic inspiration of our generals and volunteers at the front, as well as the Christian motivation of our government.*"

Two high-ranking Spanish prelates refused to sign the above-mentioned manifesto in favor of Franco's regime, namely, Cardinal Vidal y Barraquer of Tarragona and the Bishop of Vitorio. Both were exiled as a consequence, and the Cardinal died in exile in Switzerland in September, 1943. Not even the highest dignitaries of the Catholic Church can escape the vengeance of the controlling Jesuit party in the Catholic Church.

After Franco had taken Madrid and put an end to the fighting in Spain, the present Pope Pius XII sent the following message to the victors:

"With great joy we address you, dearest sons of Catholic Spain, to express our paternal congratulation for the gift of peace and victory, with which God has chosen to crown the Christian heroism of your faith and charity, proved in so much and so generous suffering . . ."—(*Voice of Spain*, No. 103, March 22, 1941, p. 410).

It was not without promise of profit that the Vatican initiated and supported Franco's rebellion against the elected government of the Spanish Republic. Franco's victory restored the State Ecclesiastical Budget of 65,000,000 pesetas a year, with an extra allotment for repairs to seminaries, libraries and churches. The properties of the Spanish Jesuits were restored — estimated as amounting at one time to a third of the nation's wealth. The Jesuits, before the establishment of the Spanish Republic, received revenue not

only from such enterprises as the most lucrative fish markets, but also the liveliest and most expensive cabarets in Spain.¹⁰

From Franco's war against the Spanish Republic, which is admitted by all to have been the prelude to World War II, the Catholic Church gained its goal in Spain at least, where now only the Roman Catholic Church enjoys a legal status. In the words of a report made in 1942 to our State Department by the U. S. Embassy in Madrid: "*Protestant Churches for Spaniards have no legal status and enjoy no state guarantees.*"

ITALY

LEWIS MUMFORD was one of the few Americans who discovered, but only in 1940, that the Second World War began with the signing of the Lateran Pact between the Pope and Mussolini in 1929. In his book, *Faith for Living*, p. 160, he says:

"Political interpreters have set various dates for the beginning of the Fascist uprising against civilization; but most of them go back no further than 1931. This is a curious blindness; the betrayal of the Christian world, very plainly, took place in 1929, in the Concordat that was made between Mussolini and the Pope."

It was Pope Pius XI who really brought Mussolini and his Fascism to power in Italy. Without protection from someone even higher than the King, Mussolini could not have become dictator of Italy overnight. The Fascist "March on Rome" was a sorry parade (Mussolini went by train); Il Duce hadn't even the price of a dress suit for his interview with the King, and the few guns possessed by his followers were hired and paid for by others. A single regiment of the Roman garrison could have wiped out this Fascist mummery in a short while. But the recently-elected Pope Pius XI, obsessed with the fear of Soviet world revolution, had recognized Mussolini as "a gift of Providence," the man rightly suited to save Europe from Bolshevism and restore the universal dominion of the Roman Catholic Church. As Cardinal Ratti, Archbishop of Milan, Pius XI had known and studied Mussolini in that industrial city, and on one occasion had him and a band of his Blackshirts occupy seats of honor in *Il Duomo*, his cathedral in Milan. William Teeling, Irish Catholic author (in his *The Pope in Politics*, p. 28) who knew Pope Pius XI person-

¹⁰ Brenan, Gerald, *The Spanish Labyrinth*, p. 48.

"The Fascist Government of Italy is the only exception to the political anarchy of governments, parliaments and schools the world over."

Even the late Cardinal Hinsley of London, reputed in England and America as pro-democratic, was forced to admit (as reported in *The Catholic Times* of London, Oct. 18, 1935): "*If Fascism goes under, nothing can save the country from chaos. God's cause goes with it.*"

GERMANY

UNDERLYING papal policy for the past hundred years is the settled conviction that a strong militaristic and authoritarian Germany is essential for the continuance of the Roman Catholic Church's pre-eminence in Christendom. Evidence of this can be seen in the late Kaiser Wilhelm's *Memoirs*¹¹ where he tells of his visit to Pope Leo XIII. Following are the Kaiser's own words:

"It was of interest to me that the Pope said to me on this occasion that *Germany must become the sword of the Catholic Church*. I remarked that the old Roman Empire of the German nation no longer existed, and that conditions had changed. But he stuck to his words."

What Pope Leo tried to make plain to the Kaiser was that the Holy Roman Empire would have to be restored by force of war, as alone it could be. Such a war would be fought to attain two objectives: 1) the ousting of Protestant British and Masonic influence from Europe in the West; and 2) the federation of all central European states as an impregnable bulwark against Russian and Slavic invasion from the East. These were also Hitler's avowed objectives, testified to in this country by none other than the Jesuit Edmund Walsh, Director of the Jesuit School of Diplomacy in Washington, D. C. The *New York Times* of February 17, 1940, reported the following statement of his in a public speech in the Nation's Capital:

"The German war aims were outlined tonight as a re-establishment of the Holy Roman Empire by Doctor Edmund A. Walsh, regent of the Foreign Service School of Georgetown University. Dr. Walsh said that he had heard Adolf Hitler say that the Holy Roman Empire, which was a German Empire, must be re-established."

¹¹ Cf. *The Kaiser's Memoirs*, by Wilhelm II, translated by Thomas R. Ybarra, Harper & Bros., N. Y., 1922, p. 211.

As late as October 9, 1943, the *N. Y. Post* reported that this same Father Edmund Walsh and his co-instructors of the Jesuit *School for Foreign Service* were teaching U. S. Army classes that "*a revival of the Holy Roman Empire was the only solution of the German problem.*"

No one has understood this more clearly than the present Pope Pius XII. His pro-Germanism is openly admitted by his official Catholic biographer, Kees van Hoek. "*Cardinal Pacelli,*" he says, "*has always been known for his strong German leanings.*" He was Papal Nuncio in Munich from 1917 to 1925, and in Berlin from 1925 to 1929, when he was made Papal Secretary of State to Pope Pius XI. Viscount d'Abernon, Britain's first ambassador to the Weimar Republic, in his memoirs calls Cardinal Pacelli "*the best informed man in the Reich.*" Pacelli knew and studied Hitler and his Nazi party at first hand, and was in Munich when *Mein Kampf* was first published there. Within six months of Hitler's accession to power in 1933, he signed the Vatican Concordat with Hitler's Third Reich. The British *Annual Register* of 1933, (p. 169) attributed Hitler's rise to power in large part to "the gigantic swing-over of the Catholic middle class in west and south Germany to the Nazi Party." Liberal Catholic elements in Germany gave vent to their displeasure with Hitler's regime and objected to the Vatican tie-up with him. But the Catholic *Revue des Deux Mondes* of January 15, 1935, reported that orders were sent to the German bishops that all Catholic hostility to Hitler must cease. In August, 1936, all the German bishops, at their annual conference at Fulda, issued their pastoral letter, which declared in part:

"There is no need to speak at length of the task which our people and our country are called upon to undertake. May our Fuehrer, with the help of God, succeed in this extraordinarily difficult work . . ."

Again in August, 1940, with France and most of Europe under Hitler's heel, the German bishops drew up another pastoral letter at Fulda which, according to a dispatch from Berlin to the *New York Times* on August 27, contained "a solemn pledge of loyalty to Chancellor Hitler." Since a Hitler victory at that time seemed to the bishops to promise an early end to the war, this pastoral letter was directed to be read from all Catholic pulpits at

that time. Forty-five of the forty-eight bishops of Germany were present on that occasion, together with Msgr. Orsenigo, Papal Nuncio to Nazi Germany.

Fritz Thyssen, Catholic steel magnate, in his book, *I Paid Hitler*, published in the United States in 1940, states that the whole plan of Hitler's National Socialism, (as he understood it) was to establish a confederation of Central European countries under a Catholic monarch. When he went to Switzerland in 1940, Thyssen published an article in the Swiss *Arbeiterzeitung* entitled: "*Pius XII, as Nuncio, Brought Hitler to Power.*" "The idea," he wrote, "was to have a sort of Christian Corporate State organized according to the classes, which would be supported by the Churches—in the West by the Catholic, and in the East by the Protestant—and by the Army."

This plan for the restoration of the Holy Roman Empire was propagandized in the United States by prominent Catholic spokesmen shortly after Hitler forced Austria and Czechoslovakia into his Greater Germany. Justice Herbert O'Brien, writing in the New York *Herald Tribune* of March 29, 1938, applauded Hitler's conquests as "a natural re-adjustment in Europe," and warned the United States against any attempt to join with England and France to stop it. A war for this purpose, he declared, would be unjust, since its object would be "to oppose certain political adjustments and change confederations which had existed for generations before the great [first] world conflict." He went on to say:

"The opposition to this adjustment of the German peoples with some of the groups of the old Austrian Empire . . . comes from England and France. These two nations have expressed their bitter resentment over these changes as a disturbance of the 'balance of power' in Europe, and are fearful that Germany, in union with a re-united Austria, will place the German peoples in the ascendancy with ample force to maintain this position, and, by alliance with Italy, terminate Britain's sole supremacy of the Mediterranean and directly affect its sole future control of India and Egypt and the African British colonies.

"What America is witnessing is the normal reunion of these several parts into the original, living structure. It had to come. It could not be blocked. In justice to the 100 million people in Central Europe, why should anyone try to prevent it?"

This same Justice Herbert O'Brien has been one of Father Coughlin's staunchest supporters.

In his book, *Church and State in Germany*, which was widely distributed in this country by the German Library of Information, Frederick F. Schrader reproduced the official text of the Vatican-Hitler Concordat and quoted the conclusion of a review of it from *Germania*, most influential Catholic newspaper in Germany, as follows:

"It was reserved for the constellation of Adolf Hitler, Franz von Papen and Cardinal Pacelli to renew the old bonds between the Reich and the Church."

For this Vatican-Hitler Concordat was the first over-all agreement to be entered into between the Roman Catholic Church and Germany for over 100 years. These bonds could not be renewed if a democratic government were in power in Germany, since they tied together an authoritarian State and an authoritarian Church.

Franz von Papen, co-signer with Pope Pius XII of the Vatican's Concordat with Hitler's Reich, summed up the Vatican-Hitler policies as follows (in *Der Voelkischer Beobachter* of Jan. 14, 1934):

"THE THIRD REICH IS THE FIRST POWER WHICH NOT ONLY RECOGNIZES, BUT PUTS INTO PRACTICE, THE HIGH PRINCIPLES OF THE PAPACY."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE VATICAN has been at odds with the Czech nation ever since John Huss, who was burned for heresy in 1415, raised the spirit of revolt against Papal supremacy among his people. But the indomitable wish of the Czechs for independence and liberty has never been crushed, despite the centuries of oppression and bloodshed that resulted from this feud with the Papacy.

It was not to be expected, therefore, that the Vatican would favor and assist the progress of the promising young Czechoslovak democracy formed after the First World War. Father Hlinka, leader of the Vatican party in Slovakia, immediately set to work to undermine the new republic, and with his "Hlinka Guards" made it easy for his successor, Monsignor Josef Tiso, to hand it over to Hitler in 1938. The Slovakian people had no part whatever in the declaration of an independent Slovakia, by which the Czechoslovak republic was dismembered and absorbed by Hitler. It was solely the work of Vatican politicians and Hlinka armed

guards who flooded the country, crushing with Nazi cruelty all attempts at resistance. Their priest-leader, Josef Tiso, became Hitler's puppet ruler, and later President of Slovakia. Pope Pius XII soon after made him a Papal Chamberlain with the title of Monsignor.

There never has been any doubt about the tie-up between the Catholic Church and Nazism with regard to Hitler's puppet-state of Slovakia. According to a dispatch to the *New York Times* from Bratislava on August 28, 1940, Premier Volpetch Tuka publicly declared that "*Slovakia's governmental system in the future will be a combination of German Nazism and Roman Catholicism.*" Monsignor Tiso himself declared that "Catholicism and Nazism have much in common, and are working hand in hand to reform the country." Ruthless anti-Semitism was one of the first reforms. In an interview with the German weekly *Neue Ordnung* on December 22, 1941, Tiso declared that Slovakia's anti-Semitism was justified because of "love of our own people" and in the cause of Nazism. "*All we undertake against the Jews,*" he said, "*is done from love of our own people. Love of neighbor and love of country have been developed into a fruitful struggle against the enemies of Nazism.*" By 1941, Tiso's Slovakia was able to boast that it was the first "Jew-free" country in the world.

The Vatican radio in June, 1940, when world-wide Nazi victory appeared certain, broadcast the following¹²:

"The announcement by Monsignor Tiso, head of the Slovak State, of his intention to reconstruct Slovakia on a Christian plan, is greatly welcomed by the Holy See. The new organization of the State is to be based on the Corporate system which has proved so successful in Portugal . . . This, coming so soon after Marshal Pétain's statement that he intended to reconstruct France on a Christian basis, is doubly welcome."

That Monsignor Tiso and his Nazi puppet-state continued in favor at the Vatican was evidenced by the special greetings sent to him by Pope Pius XII for New Year's Day, 1943.

It was this same Monsignor Tiso, priest-President of Slovakia, who signed that country's declaration of war against the United States.

¹² Reported in the Catholic London *Tablet*, England's leading Catholic journal, of July 27, 1940.

AUSTRIA

CATHOLIC AUSTRIA was the first country to be taken over bodily by Hitler. The way to this had been fully prepared for many years previous by the Clerical-Fascist forces in Hitler's homeland: first by Monsignor Ignaz Seipel, then by Dollfuss, who gave Austria its corporate, Fascist regime, and lastly by Schuschnigg, who handed the country over to Hitler in 1938. The transition from Dollfuss' brand of Fascism to Hitler's Nazism was an easy, natural step. William Teeling, Catholic author, in his *Crisis For Christianity* (p. 290), described the true state of affairs in Austria at that time as follows:

"In short, there seemed to be for the ordinary Catholic man and woman an immense amount of similarity between the ordinary everyday plan preached by the Nazis, and the sort of authoritarian state advocated by Pope Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno*."

This same Catholic author reveals that "Monsignor Seipel was very largely responsible for the papal encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* . . . and for the Constitution on similar lines for Austria, which was so little different from the totalitarianism of Nazi Germany that in the end the two had to merge." Seipel was the leader of Political Catholicism.

In a manner similar to that used by Father Hlinka and other spearheads of Fascism among Roman Catholic priest-leaders in Central Europe, Monsignor Seipel built up his own anti-democratic army, the members of which became Nazi troopers later on. Already in 1927, he got the *Landbund* to join his reactionary Clerical-Fascist coalition. Its members too, according to G. E. R. Gedye (*Betrayal in Central Europe*, p. 19), later became Nazis to a great extent. Seipel, too, like Pope Leo XIII, Hitler, Von Papen, Fritz Thyssen and their fellow-Catholic spokesmen in the United States, such as Justice Herbert O'Brien, Jesuit Father Edmund Walsh *et al*, longed and planned for the restoration of the Holy Roman Empire, centered in Vienna. He envisioned it as embracing Austria, Hungary, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Croatia, Slovakia and Transylvania, to which formidable bloc of nations Poland and the Latin-Catholic nations might easily be affiliated.

Monsignor Seipel, after his death, was succeeded by Engelbert Dollfuss who, on September 27, 1932, declared before the Assem-

bly of the League of Nations: "*Austria is working out a new constitution. In this she will be guided by the principles laid down by Pope Pius XI.*" So strictly Catholic and authoritarian was this regime of Dollfuss that, according to an Associated Press dispatch of November 15, 1938, it "subjected all who filed petitions to leave the Catholic Church to a mental examination." His Fascist constitution for Austria recognized the juridical position of the Roman Catholic Church and its institutions *as defined by Canon Law*, thus giving it priority over all other religious bodies. It placed education on a Catholic basis, and made religious instruction compulsory in the schools. In his book, *Austria, 1918-1938—A Study in Failure* (p. 281), Malcolm Bullock voices a complaint of the Evangelical (Protestant) Church in Austria that, under the new constitution, "Christianity" is made to stand for "Roman Catholicism," "as if the Protestant Church did not exist or deserve consideration."

A Concordat between the new Austrian State and the Vatican was proclaimed on the same day as the constitution, on May 1, 1934. Both were so drawn up that they could be taken over without change in the event that the monarchy would be restored.

The sole opposition to Dollfuss' regime came from the Socialists under the party name of *Social Democrats*, who were strong only in and around Vienna. The peasants were completely under the control of the Church and the large landowners, the Catholic Church itself being the largest landowner in Central Europe. Following, for example, are figures from an official report on the distribution of land in Hungary at the end of 1936: (translated into acres)*

State and Communities.....	1,050,000 acres
The Pope	1,540,000 "
Large landlords, 1200 in all, average hold- ing 4550 acres	5,460,000 "
Small landlords, 1,200,000 in all, average holding 12.2 acres.....	14,577,600 "
Total acreage.....	22,627,600 "
500,000 landless peasants had no soil of their own at all.	

* See, *A Vital Condition for Lasting Peace*, by Leopold Mannaberg, p. 13.

Dollfuss had little trouble in crushing the opposition of the Social Democrats, who had accomplished much for the uplift of the masses of the people, such as the founding of public libraries to stimulate the appetite of the people for reading and learning, and other social benefits. But they had no stomach to kill like Dollfuss' private army of the *Heimwehr* and the German nationals. They were overcome on February 12, 1934, when the army bombarded their homes. Carile A. Macartney, in his book, *The Social Revolution in Austria* (p. 179), summarizes the position of Socialism in Austria *vis-a-vis* the Catholic Church as follows:

"The absence of competition is the treasured advantage of the Church. Only Socialism seriously challenges its supremacy, and is therefore anathema to it. The mentality of the peasant of the old style is peculiarly acceptable to the Church. Submissiveness to authority, contentment with one's lot . . ."

There is also much of anti-Semitism in the Catholic Church's hatred of Socialism. J. D. Gregory, Catholic author of *Dollfuss and His Times* (London, 1935, p. 342), quotes Nicolas Budijaen as follows:

"Socialism is the old form of Hebrew millenarianism, of the hope of Israel . . . It was not mere chance that Karl Marx was a Jew. He believed that a Messiah would come, but one who would be the reverse of Jesus, whom the Hebrew people had rejected."

It will be remembered that it was in Vienna that Hitler first imbibed anti-Semitism—from Mayor Karl Leueger, a staunch Roman Catholic who was strongly supported by Cardinal Rom-polla at the Vatican.¹³

Under Dollfuss, Austria became an Ecclesiastical State with a Papal encyclical as constitution, and the Archbishop of Vienna, Dr. Innitzer (who was made a Cardinal after the butchery of the workers in 1934), as its virtual head. The end of all hopes for a democratic Austria came on March 1938, when Hitler, at the head of a strong force, made his entry into Vienna. Five days later the people woke up to find large posters everywhere "*To the Catholic People of Austria!*" They were signed by all the archbishops and bishops of the country, headed by the name of Cardinal Innitzer, and stated that the undersigned prelates had deeply considered

¹³ Reynal & Hitchcock edition of *Mein Kampf*, pp. 71-72.

the situation and had decided that Adolf Hitler had proved to be the protector of German rights and culture. The prelates expressed their conviction that his leadership would guarantee material and moral happiness to the German people, and they entreated the people trustfully to follow the Fuehrer. The manifesto ended with the salutation: "Heil Hitler."

FRANCE

FORMERLY France had been known as "the Eldest Daughter of the Church," and its kings were proudly styled "Their Most Catholic Majesties." But after it became a democratic republic, France was a thorn in the side of the Catholic Church, the hated instigator of rationalism and the hot-bed of anti-clericalism. In 1903, the Coombes Law—named after the then Premier, an ex-priest—decreed the expulsion of the religious orders. Several attempts had since been made to overthrow the French Republic and restore the religious orders. The famous *Dreyfus Affaire* was one of these, and was admittedly engineered by the Jesuits. No return of Europe to a Vatican-Fascist hegemony would have been complete as long as Republican France with its principles of *Liberty, Equality* and *Fraternity* remained in existence. The Hitler-Pétain-Vatican conspiracy succeeded where other attempts had failed.

The Vatican's fanatical hatred of the French Republic is of long standing and well known to European statesmen. It is news only to Americans who seem afraid even to inform themselves of the well-documented facts in the matter. The so-called "saintly" Pope Pius X (soon to be canonized) expressed that hatred in even more unvarnished terms than other popes. He called France "*The diabolic trinity of Freemasonry, Christian democracy and modernism.*"* Like the popes before and after him, he counted upon the armies of Germany as "the instrument chosen by God to punish France." Count Carlo Sforza, who is anything but a radical, is not afraid to publish these and other facts that every American should know about the pro-Fascism of the Vatican in his recent authoritative work, *Contemporary Italy*.* Of Pope Pius X's fierce desire to

* *Contemporary Italy*, by Count Carlo Sforza, p. 105, E. P. Dutton, 1944, \$3.50.

see the French Republic destroyed by Germany in the First World War, Sforza further declares:

"When death surprised him on August 20, 1914, he was absolutely certain that nothing in the world could prevent the complete defeat of the French, and in his naivete he said:

" 'Thus they will understand that they must become obedient sons of the Church.' "

But it was left to Hitler's armies in 1940 to accomplish this with the help of Catholic Generals Weygand and Pétain.

Only to naïve, unbelieving Americans was the complete and disastrous collapse of the French Republic in 1940 a surprising and unexpected event. Not only for months, but for years before, it was planned and prepared for, in collaboration with Vatican politicians. "In the winter of 1939-40," says Pierre Cot,¹⁴ "a plot had been organized to replace the democratic regime by a 'government of authority.'" This same author, who was cabinet minister in the pre-war government of France, then goes on to quote Anatole de Monzie in his book, "*Ci Devant*," published in Paris with permission of the Vichy censor in 1941, that in February, 1940, Marshal Pétain declared: "*They will appeal to me in the third week of May.*" Pierre Cot further establishes that the forces that conspired toward the 'Triumph of Treason' in France were the military command, big business and the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

Proof of the part played by the Catholic Church in the planned betrayal of the French Republic was the fact that, on June 21, 1940, *four days before the humiliating armistice with Hitler was signed, and five days after Marshal Pétain took control, the religious orders were restored to their former position in France.*

I have before me a rare copy of *Le Nouvelliste*, a newspaper of Lyon, France, of July 11, 1940, which contains a lengthy article by a special correspondent who signs himself T. de Vissan, which describes in detail the arrival of the monks on June 21, at the Monastery of La Grande Chartreuse. "They [the monks] appear clothed in white," he says, "having for ornament upon their heavy woolen gowns an imperceptible red ribbon, symbol of the

¹⁴ *Triumph of Treason*, p. 63.

Legion of Honor won *from a France not vanquished but victorious.*" (Italics mine)

This article by M. de Vissan is dated June 21, 1940, and was obviously prepared well in advance for the occasion. "*This morning of the 21st of June 1940,*" he says, "*is a great historical day, not only for the annals of the Dauphiné, but for the entire world.*" On the front page of the same newspaper is a large picture of Pétain, and its banner headlines announce Pétain's "New Constitution" for Fascist France. That this "New Constitution" of Pétain's was also prepared well in advance is proved from the following by M. de Vissan, as he watches the monks entering the Monastery of La Grand Chartreuse:

"Here ends a chapter—an unhappy chapter. Another commences. The return of the Chartreux is like a great light in the sky, so long sullied by political and religious struggles. More than that, the Sacred Union [of Church and State] and the New Constitution are a precious assurance of the reconciliation of all Frenchmen, and a forecast of the future . . ."

It must be remembered that on June 21, 1940, when M. de Vissan is supposed to have written his narrative, Hitler's armies were over-running the French countryside. On "this great historical day," bombs were falling and men, women and children were dying everywhere. Frontiers were closed; telephone and telegraph were cut off. Yet these monks, who had been banished from France since 1903, entered the country and presented official documents from Pétain's new regime, at the gate of their monastery restoring them to their former position. This took place *five days after Pétain came to power and four days before the armistice.*

The Jesuits already had appeared in force in Paris on June 14.

The fall of the French Republic and the establishment of Pétain's Clerical-Fascist regime were immediately hailed with unrestrained rejoicing by the Vatican's official newspaper *Osservatore Romano*. In a lengthy article on July 26, it praised "good Marshal Pétain," and fully endorsed the Catholic-Fascist principle that "authority is higher than the human will." With obvious pleasure at the extinction of the late French Republic's principles of *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity*, this Vatican newspaper put itself on record as definitely in favor of authoritarianism by de-

claring that "the human will is intolerant of restrictions and has attempted to overstep all limits, first with criticism, and then with revolution." In thus condemning democratic principles in the hour of Hitler's triumph over the French Republic, the *Osservatore Romano* was merely repeating what all the Popes of the 19th century had fulminated against democratic trends.

In its rejoicing at the fall of France, the Vatican organ went even further and admitted that the aims of dictatorship were in agreement with the Catholic Church. It quoted and endorsed the view of Portugal's dictator, Antonio Salazar,¹⁵ that "*the authoritarian regime creates a civic conscience which opens and prepares the way for spreading and strengthening the moral conscience.*" This, it added, "*is the desire, aspiration and program of the Church.* With the obliteration of individual freedom and criticism by the fall of Republican France, it declared that we could look forward to the cultivation of a spirit in France which "will be able to impose the supremacy of the common good over private interests of individuals, groups and parties," and expressed the hope that this "spiritual regeneration" of France will be "*the dawn of a new radiant day, not only for France, but for all Europe and the world.*"

JAPAN

PIUS XI agreed with Mussolini that the United States of America, the bulwark of democracy, was in "grave peril of collapse," as William Teeling, Catholic author, has pointed out. In accordance with this belief, Pius XI held that Japan would dominate the Orient and was determined to ally himself with the Emperor of Japan. Teeling, *The Pope in Politics* (p. 5), speaking of the world plans of Pope Pius XI, confesses in this connection:

"The Vatican is also intensely interested in developing her relations with Japan in order to get control of the eventual development of Christianity in those parts of China which she believes will one day come under Japanese influence."

Among other things mentioned was his confidence that "the peoples who inhabit the remote regions of the East and South can

¹⁵ A Concordat between the Vatican and Dictator Salazar had just been signed on June 1, 1940.

hold their own easily with the European races." In addition, the Pope broke the Vatican tradition of centuries by ordaining Oriental bishops. His partner and successor, Pius XII, carried this policy a step farther by appointing two Japanese bishops over the subjugated Koreans and later breaking inviolable traditions of the Vatican by establishing relations with a pagan nation—Japan.

The secret alliance between the Pope and the Japanese war lords was reflected in public by the growing cooperation and cordiality between them. In Japan's war of aggression against China, the Vatican sent directions to its missionaries in China to cooperate with the Japanese. After the rape of Manchuria was completed, the Vatican at once gave de facto recognition to its Japanese puppet government, after other countries refused to do so. In 1934, the Catholic *Revue des Deux Mondes* boasted, at a time when Japan's inhumanity was shocking the world, that "no Japanese prince or mission now passes through Rome without paying homage to the Sovereign Pontiff."

By 1938, the Pope gave permission to Japanese Catholics to bow in worship before the Emperor, who claims to be of divine origin. This was done in spite of the fact that this act of homage had been forbidden for centuries by Roman Catholic doctrine.

Following the alliance with Pope Pius XI, Japan made no secret of its 'preferred treatment' of Roman Catholicism. Neither did the Catholic press hesitate to return the favor. *The Catholic Times* of England as early as November 3, 1934, urged its readers to think kindly of Japan because the Japanese invaders "have brought freedom from persecution to our missionaries in Manchuria and adjacent parts of China . . . and consented to their settlers in Brazil being instructed in the Catholic faith."

While Japanese preparations for an attack on the United States were being completed, relations between Japan and the Catholic church grew closer than ever. The N. Y. *Herald Tribune* of October 8, 1941, said:

"The Japanese government has become more cordial to the Catholic Church in the last six months than at any time in recent years . . ."

The same newspaper went on to quote Rt. Rev. T. J. McDonnell, national director of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith: "The Japanese have not actually granted recognition yet to any Christian sect *except to that Christian Church which is known as Roman Catholic.*"

Soon after the Japanese invasion, "the Archbishop of Manila (Michael J. Doherty) issued a Pastoral letter calling upon all Catholics in the Philippines to stop their anti-Japanese activities and to cooperate with the Japanese in their noble efforts to pacify the Archipelago."

After outraging the conscience of the world by its vile deceit at Pearl Harbor, Japan badly needed some declaration of international approval to restore its moral prestige. Soon after Pearl Harbor, the Vatican came to its rescue and gave it its blessing in the form of diplomatic recognition. *This formal establishment of diplomatic relations with Japan was an open insult to the United States, not only because it was done following Pearl Harbor, but even more because it was in defiance of American and British protests.* This welcoming of the bandit nation of Japan as an equal among Christian nations was termed a "benevolent gesture toward the Axis" by Paul Ghali in the *New York Post* of March 21, 1942. He added that "the Nazis will attain new support by this new and relatively easy diplomatic victory of their Oriental ally."

THE UNITED STATES

VATICAN POLICY in the United States is pursued cautiously, but nonetheless vigorously. It takes its cue from the instructions sent to this country by Pope Leo XIII in 1888:

"Although on account of the extraordinary political condition to-day it usually happens that the Church in certain modern countries acquiesces in certain modern liberties, not because she prefers them in themselves, but because she judges it expedient that they should be permitted, she would in happier times resume her own liberty . . ."

Again, in his encyclical *Longinqua Oceani* (Jan. 6, 1895), Pope Leo warned the bishops of America as follows:

"It is necessary to destroy the error of those who might believe, perhaps, that the status of the Church in America is a desirable one, and also the error that in imitation of that sort of thing the separation of Church and State is legal and even convenient."

Not often does any official church authority utter so scathing a denunciation of the American way of life as was published in the Jesuit magazine *America* in its issue of May 17, 1941, six months before Pearl Harbor, as follows:*

"How we Catholics have loathed and despised this Lucifer civilization, this rationalist creation of those little men who refused to bend the knee or bow the head in submission to a higher authority . . . Today, American Catholics are being asked to shed their blood for that particular kind of secularist civilization which they have been heroically repudiating for four centuries. This civilization is now called democracy, and the suggestion is being made that we send the Yanks to Europe again to defend it . . . All the Yanks in America will not save it from disintegration. Unless a miracle occurs, it is doomed—finally and irrevocably doomed."

Yet, every act of collaboration of the Catholic Church with the Nazi-Fascist aggressors in Europe was reflected, in a minor key, in the United States. For years Father Coughlin strove to make himself the spearhead of Clerical Fascism in America, just as it was spearheaded by similar priests in all the Catholic countries of Europe — Father Adalbert Bangha in Hungary; Fathers Overmans, Löffler and Pachtler in Germany; Father Bresciana in Italy; Father Koroschetz in Yugoslavia; Monsignor Seipel in Austria; Fathers Hlinka and Tiso in Slovakia — not forgetting Father Staempfeler of the Rhineland who, on the testimony of Otto Strasser in his book, *Hitler and I*, p. 577, was the real author of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

That Father Coughlin's campaign did not represent the Fascist ravings of an irresponsible priest is clear from the public approval he received from his bishop, William Gallagher of Detroit. On his return from a visit to the Pope in 1936, Bishop Gallagher declared to reporters on the dock in New York: "*Father Coughlin is an outstanding priest, and his voice . . . is the voice of God.*" Father Coughlin's radio talks were reproduced by the official Catholic diocesan newspapers all over America. Archbishop Mooney, Coughlin's present superior in Detroit, admitted that

* This Jesuit magazine advertises itself as "*the most influential Catholic magazine in America.*"

his radio talks were passed by the diocese's board of censors and had the "permission" of his ecclesiastical authorities — which, he shrewdly added, does not, however, necessarily mean "approval."

For Father Coughlin's "social justice" teachings were strictly in accord with those laid down by Pope Pius XI in his encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, on which Dollfuss in Austria, Mussolini in Italy, Franco in Spain and Salazar in Portugal had based their authoritarian regimes. John T. Whitaker, foreign correspondent in close touch with the Vatican, wrote from Rome on July 18, 1940, at the time of the fall of France:¹⁶

"In this situation the Vatican has indicated that it approves the Fascist government organized in France by Marshal Pétain and Pierre Laval and it hopes to see the totalitarian regime of other 'corporative' states, such as those in Portugal and Brazil, spread throughout the world."

This was verified by an official pronouncement of the American Catholic hierarchy, meeting in Washington on February 8, 1940, entitled "The Church and the Social Order," in which they openly advocated the "Corporative System" for the United States. The Official Catholic news service of the N.C.W.C. (National Catholic Welfare Conference) called this pronouncement of the American hierarchy, "*the most important utterance made by the Catholic hierarchy since the bishops' program of reconstruction of 1919.*" In preparation for this pronouncement, the Social Action Department of the N.C.W.C. published a pamphlet earlier that same year, outlining a plan for "*Organized Social Justice*,"—which is the title of the pamphlet. It was signed by 131 prominent Catholic prelates and laymen and has for its subtitle: "*An Economic Program for the United States, applying Pope Pius XI's great Encyclical, 'Quadragesimo Anno,' on Social Life.*"¹⁷

This plan of the highest Catholic authorities in the United States as of 1940, called for "the necessity of Government intervention" in economic and social matters, according to a Fascist pattern; it also categorically stated that "Industrialism, liberalism and free enterprise are bankrupt" in American life.

At that time, a quick victory of Hitler's forces in Europe was

¹⁶ Cf. N. Y. Post of this date.

¹⁷ Published by The Paulist Press, New York, N. Y.

a certainty in the minds of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in America. So sure were these prelates, in fact, that they undertook to warn the United States Government that the only refuge left for this country was to ally itself with the pope in order to gain the benefits of his *political* power. Here is part of such a warning that Bishop James H. Ryan of Omaha, Nebraska, one of the chief members of the N.C.W.C., wrote in a three-column communication to the *New York Times* of May 12, 1940:

"Though conscious of the *religious* power of the Pope, we have chosen to remain blind to the *political* power of the Pope, who is King . . . *It would be foolhardy for a democratic state, whose very existence is involved in the struggle, to neglect to make friends with that religious power whose assistance is certain to be of such inestimable value.*" (Italics mine)

There is an implied threat, as well as a warning, in this, that, with a Hitler victory, the only hope for America would be an alliance with the Pope for the purpose of interceding with the victorious Axis dictators.

A few examples will suffice to show that from Munich to Pearl Harbor the Catholic Church in America faithfully followed the policy of the Vatican in the struggle between Fascism and democracy. It is true that Catholic spokesmen in America did not express themselves so openly in condemnation of democracy and in favor of Fascism as their confreres in Europe. But they supported the same policy, whose viewpoint was tersely put by the Catholic magazine *Acción Española* for March 1937, which, under the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Goma y Tomas, declared: "For us it was evident, through reasoning and through knowledge, that *democracy and universal suffrage were embryonic forms of Communism and anarchy.*"

Every criticism of the Axis dictators in those years was rebuked by Catholic spokesmen. Jesuit Father Ignatius Cox, professor of Ethics at Fordham University, took severely to task U. S. Secretary of War Harry H. Woodring "for his unfriendly remarks about dictator nations," according to the *N. Y. Herald Tribune* of May 16, 1938.

The same Jesuit Father Cox warned a gathering of the Holy Name Society at St. Gregory's Church on May 8, 1938 "against

involvement of this country in a European war as *an ally of the so-called democratic front.*" According to the *Brooklyn Eagle* of May 9, 1939, he declared that:

"The involvement of the United States in a European war on the so-called democratic side would merely perpetuate the system of economic exploitation of the masses. This would be true because the British and French Empires have to a large extent the control of the raw materials of the world and the system of international finance founded on gold."

Father Peter B. Duffee, at two Communion breakfasts on June 11, 1939, bitterly attacked the foreign policy of the United States for its friendship toward the same democratic countries. He lauded Hitler's victories in Austria and Czechoslovakia as a triumph over atheism and Freemasonry. Of conquered Czechoslovakia he declared:

"Czechoslovakia had become the pawn of Russia. It was the middle European center for Communism. It was the world center of Grand Orient Masonry. It had become the spawning ground for atheism."¹⁸

The whole Catholic hierarchy, backed by the influential Catholic War Veterans, the Knights of Columbus and the clergy as a whole, strenuously fought the Burke-Wadsworth draft bill and any aid to the Allies in 1940. The Vatican radio itself joined its protest to that of the American hierarchy against the draft, according to the *N. Y. Times* of September 23, 1940. The influential Jesuit magazine *America*, in its issue of April 1, 1939, went so far as to state editorially (p. 603):

"Every American Christian must be a conscientious objector in a World War where the United States is an ally of atheistic Russia. It can be said that he must refuse to be conscripted, even though he be executed for obeying God rather than Caesar."

Father Coughlin's *Christian Front* and *Social Justice* magazine prepared their followers for open rebellion and cheered every victory of the Axis over helpless Europe. *Christian Fronters* were told (J.R. Carlson's *Under Cover*, p. 98): "You'll get target practice and complete drilling in the art of street fighting . . . Each of you captains will have your own cell, your own sabotage machine, your own revolutionary group for a Nationalistic America." They

¹⁸ Reported in the *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, June 12, 1939.

its advent to power. A long list of events, in every one of which was followed the expressed wishes of the Catholic Church, point to this conclusion.

First. The recognition of the Church of Rome as a political power by appointing an ambassador to the Vatican.

Second. Our declining to join with England and the League of Nations in imposing sanctions against Italy at the time of the Ethiopian Campaign.

Third. Our refusal to lift the embargo against the friendly and recognized Republic of Spain, thus causing its downfall.

Fourth. Our immediate recognition of Franco's Fascist regime.

Fifth. Our continued recognition of the Vichy government of France long after her active collaboration with Germany, and long after her repudiation by our allies.

Sixth. Our recognition of the Fascist Vichy elements in North Africa, Darlan, Peyrouton, Nogues, et al.

Seventh. Our steady refusal to recognize DeGaulle and the Committee of French Liberation.

Eighth. Continuing the North African policy in Italy by collaborating with its Fascist king, a Fascist general and minor Fascist officials, to the exclusion of the Italian Committee of Liberation.

This foreign policy is not vague but well defined.

As an exhibit of the tremendous political pressure exerted by the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, we reproduce the following copy of a letter from the Chairman of the N. Y. State Catholic Welfare Committee, to the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee in Washington, containing instructions from the Catholic Bishop of Albany regarding the proposed legislation in the matter of the "Equal Rights" Amendment. *This letter caused the recipient and two other Catholic members of the Committee to change their pledged votes in order to conform with the instructions of Bishop Gibbons:*

OFFICE OF CHAIRMAN, 162 STATE STREET, ALBANY, NEW YORK

NEW YORK STATE
CATHOLIC WELFARE COMMITTEE

October 2nd, 1943.

*Honorable William T. Byrne,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.*

Dear Bill:

The National Catholic Welfare Council, speaking for the Catholic Bishops of the Country, have protested the passage by Congress of the so-called "Equal Rights for Women Proposal," now before the Judiciary Committee of the House.

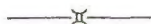
His Excellency, Bishop Gibbons of this Diocese, asks your good offices to aid the National Catholic Welfare Council in their protest.

Very Sincerely,

(Signed) CHARLES J. TOBIN,
Secretary.



RECOMMENDED BOOKS



The following books have been chosen and are recommended as containing good source material on the aims and activities of the Roman Catholic church today:

DER FUEHRER, by Conrad Heiden, who is recognized as knowing more about the rise of Hitler and Nazism than any objective historian alive. He does not omit the part played by the Vatican and the Catholic hierarchy in bringing Hitler to power. **778 pages.**
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THE SPANISH LABYRINTH, by Gerald Brenan; the most authoritative and best documented account of the social, political and religious background of the Spanish civil war. **384 pages.**
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CONTEMPORARY ITALY, by Count Carlo Sforza; a storehouse of valuable and fascinating information by a recognized leader of Italian liberalism who was Italy's Minister of Foreign Affairs before Mussolini. Of particular interest are his inside revelations of the Vatican's war-mongering among the nations. **430 pages. Price\$3.50**

WHAT TO DO WITH ITALY? by Salvemini-La Piana. The authors of this excellent work are: Professor Gaetano Salvemini, undaunted foe of Fascism and political Catholicism, and Professor George La Piana, ex-Catholic priest, church historian and authority on Canon Law, now professor of history at Harvard. Both are authorities on Italy. **301 pages. Price\$2.75**

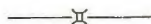
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